

## Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 01238 01 OF 05 071957Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07  
L-03 ACDA-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06  
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/090 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2051

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 5 USNATO 1238

FOR EUR/RPM

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: NATO SCSC  
SUBJECT: SUGGESTED POINTS FOR DISCUSSION AT  
MARCH 11-14 CSCE EXPERTS MEETING

REF: USNATO 1000

1. CHAIRMAN OF MARCH 22-24 CSCE EXPERTS MEETING (SOLESBY)  
HAS CIRCULATED FOLLOWING SUGGESTED POINTS FOR DISCUSSION  
WHICH ARE KEYED TO AGENDA FOR MEETING (REFTEL). CHAIRMAN  
ASKS THAT NAY COMMENTS ON SUGGESTED POINTS BE PROVIDED BY  
MARCH 14. FOLLOWING TEXT REFERS TO CERTAIN NATO DOCUMENTS;  
FOR EASE OF REFERENCE, THE FOLLOWING ARE OUR MESSAGES  
WHICH TRASNMITTED THOSE DOCUMENTS:

A) C-M(76)76 (FINAL) - 76 USNATO 6512

B) POLADS(77)13 - USNATO A-94

C) GERMAN PAPER OF FEBRUARY 7 ON  
BELGRADE PROCEDURES - USNATO A-78

D) GERMAN PAPER ON SCIENTIFIC FORUM - USNATO A-89  
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PAGE 02 NATO 01238 01 OF 05 071957Z

ACTION REQUEST: GUIDANCE BY MARCH 14

2. BEGIN TEXT OF POLADS(77)15:

I. PREPARATION OR BELHRADE MEETINGS

1. GENERAL APPROACH OF WESTERN COUNTRIES AS REGARDS:

(A) THE BELGRADE MEETINGS AS A WHOLE

IT IS PROBABLY STILL TOO EARLY TO REACH A FINAL JUDGMENT ON WHERE TO STRIKE THE BALANCE IN COMBINING THE VARIOUS BROAD OBJECTIVES SET OUT IN PARAGRAPH 7 OF C-M(76)76 (FINAL) HOWEVER THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE MAY WISH TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION FURTHER IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT EVENTS, INCLUDING THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENTS IN EASTERN COUNTRIES.

(B) REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION ITEM

THE CONSIDERATIONS IN PARAGRAPHS 15-16 OF C-M(76)76(FINAL) STILL SEEM VALID. NEVERTHELESS, THE DISCUSSION UNDER (A) ABOVE WILL BE PARTICULARLY RELEVANT TO THE HANDLING OF THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION ITEM.

(C) DISCUSSION ON NEW PROPOSALS

IT SHOULD NOT BE NECESSARY TO GO OVER ALL THE GROUND COVERED IN PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS (SEE PARAGRAPHS 18-22 OF POLADS(77)13 AND THE NETHERLANDS SPEAKING NOTES OF 7TH FEBRUARY 1977).

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PAGE 03 NATO 01238 01 OF 05 071957Z

HOWEVER THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE MAY WISH TO CONSIDER THE GENERAL APPROACH FURTHER IN TERMS OF HOW IT WILL AFFECT THEIR DISCUSSION OF ORGANIZATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AT THE PREPARATORY MEETING. THIS MIGHT BE BASED ON THE FOLLOWING ASSUMPTIONS:

(8) THE ALLIES WILL CONSIDER SERIOUSLY NEW PROPOSALS FROM OTHERS;

(II) THEY MAY ALSO PUT FORWARD SOME PROPOSALS OF THEIR OWN, DESIGNED TO ENCOURAGE AND DEVELOP IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT;

(III) AT THE SAME TIME, THEY WILL AIM

- TO SAFEGUARD THE INTEGRITY AND BALANCE OF THE FINAL ACT;

- TO AVOID ATTENTION BEING DISTRACTED EITHER FROM THE REVIEW ITEM AT THE MAIN MEETING OR FROM THE AREAS OF PRIME INTEREST TO THE WEST AFTER THE MEETING;

(IV) THEY WILL THEREFORE WISH TO EXERCISE  
CAREFUL CONTROL OVER NUMBERS, CONTENT AND  
BALANCE.

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PAGE 01 NATO 01238 02 OF 05 072012Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07  
L-03 ACDA-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06  
TRSE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSC-05 CU-02 OES-06 DHA-02 IO-13  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 5 USNATO 1238

FOR EUR/RPM

(D) DISCUSSION OF POST-BELGRADE MEETINGS

(I) BELGRADE-TYPE MEETINGS;

THERE SEEMS LITTLE TO ADD TO PARAGRAPHS  
22-23 OF C-M(76)76(FINAL) AND PARAGRAPH 37  
OF POLADS(77)13.

(II) EXPERTS MEETINGS:

IT SHOULD NOT BE NECESSARY TO GO OVER ALL  
THE GROUND COVERED IN PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS  
(PARAGRAPH 24 OF C-M(76)76(FINAL) AND  
PARAGRAPH 38 OF POLADS(77)13).

HOWEVER THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE MAY WISH  
TO CONSIDER THEIR GENERAL APPROACH FURTHER  
IN TERMS OF HOW IT WILL AFFECT THEIR  
DISCUSSIONS OF ORGANIZATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS  
AT THE PREPARATORY MEETING. THIS MIGHT BE  
BASED ON THE FOLLOWING ASSUMPTIONS:

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PAGE 02 NATO 01238 02 OF 05 072012Z

(1) THE ALLIES WILL BE READY TO CONSIDER  
SERIOUSLY PROPOSALS FROM OTHERS FOR  
EXPERTS MEETINGS (BEYOND THE TWO  
ALREADY PROVIDED FOR IN THE FINAL  
ACT);

(2) THEY MAY ALSO TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN PROPOSING ONE OR MORE SUCH MEETINGS;  
(3) HOWEVER THEY WILL AIM TO AVOID THE CONSIDERABLE POTENTIAL DANGERS INHEREENT IN ESTABLISHING TOO MANY SUCH MEETINGS, E.G. DISTRACTING ATTENTION FROM THE NEED FOR UNILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION, AND ENCOURAGING PROGRESSIVE INSTITUTIONALIZATION;

(4) THEY WILL THEREFORE WISH TO EXERCISE A MOST CAREFUL CONTROL OVER NUMBERS, SUBJECT MATTER, BALANCE AND MANDATE.

(E) MAIN THEMES AT BELGRADE

THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE MAY WISH TO CONSIDER CERTAIN MAIN THEMES, INCLUDING HOW TO HANDLE THE SEVENTH AND EIGHT PRINCIPLES (HUMAN RIGHTS, SELF-DETERMINATION).

## 2. ORGANIZATION OF MAIN MEETING

(A) OVERALL ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS, INCLUDING:

### 1 AGENDA

CAN THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE AGREE ON THE FOLLOWING DRAFT AGENDA?  
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PAGE 03 NATO 01238 02 OF 05 072012Z

I. EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT AND OF THE TASKS DEFINED BY THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE.

II. EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE QUESTIONS DEALT WITH BY THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE, ON THE DEEPENING OF MUTUAL RELATIONS AMONG THE PARTICIPATING STATES, THE IMPROVEMENT OF SECURITY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROCESS OF DETENTE IN THE FUTURE.

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PAGE 01 NATO 01238 03 OF 05 072025Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07  
L-03 ACDA-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06  
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/090 W

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 5 USNATO 1238

FOR EUR/RPM

III. DEFINITION OF THE APPROPRIATE  
MODALITIES FOR THE HOLDING OF  
OTHER MEETINGS.

- PROCEDURES

THERE MAY BE LITTLE TO ADD TO THE  
PAPER CIRCULATED BY THE GERMAN  
DELEGATION ON 7TH FEBRUARY 1977.

- OVERALL STRUCTURE

IT SEEMS COMMON GROUND THAT THERE SHOULD  
BE TWO STRUCTURAL LEVELS AT THE MAIN  
MEETING: PLENARY AND COMMITTEES (ONE PER  
BASKET AND A CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE).

SECONDARY QUESTIONS ARE:

(I) WHAT, IF ANY, SUB-COMMITTEES OR  
WORKING GROUPS SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED?

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 01238 03 OF 05 072025Z

(II) SHOULD THERE BE A SEPARATE  
MEDITERRANEAN COMMITTEE? (SEE ALSO  
5 BELOW).

(B) ORGANIZATION OF GENERAL STATEMENTS ON EAST-WEST  
RELATIONS AND DETENETE

IT SEEMS TO BE AGREED THAT THERE SHOULD BE  
OPENING AND CLOSING STATEMENTS IN PLENARY

COVERING THE WHOLE FINAL ACT AND INCLUDING REFERENCES TO THE STATE OF EAST-WEST REALTIONS AND DETENTE. THERE APPEARS LITTLE TO ADD TO THIS.

(C) ORGANIZATION OF REVIEW OF IMPLEENTATION ITEM

PARAGRAPHS 4-14 OF POLADS(77)13 SET OUT THE DEGREE OF COMMON GROUND SO FAR.

THERE ARE TWO IMPORTANT COUTSTANDING QUESTIONS ON WHICH THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE WILL WISH TO REQCH AGREEMENT:

(I) SHOULD THE REVIEW BE CHAPTER BY CHAPTER OR BASKET BY BASKET?

(II) APART FROM REFERENCES IN OPENING AND CLOSING PLENARY STATEMENTS, SHOULD THE DETAILED DISCUSSION OF THE REVIEW TAKE PLACE IN PLENARY OR COMMITTEES OR BOTH?

(D) ORGANIZATION OF NEW PROPOSALS SIDXUSSION

THERE SEEMS LITTLE TO ADD TO THE STRUCTURAL POINTS IN PARAGRAPH 15 OF POLADS (77)13.  
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PAGE 03 NATO 01238 03 OF 05 072025Z

THE MAIN OUTSTANDING POINT IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ITEM ON THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMEN- TATION AND THE DISCUSSION OF NEW PROPOSALS - SEE PARAGRAPH 16 OF POLADS(77)13. THAT PARAGRAPH SHOWS WIDE AGREEMENT THAT THERE SHOULD BE SOME DIVISION BETWEEN CONSIDERATION OF THE TWO ITEMS, BUT A VARIETY OFF OPINION ON THE MANNER OF DIVISION. PARAGRPH 16 OF POLADS(77)13 LISTS THREE ALTERNATIVES; CAN THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE AGREE TO SUPPORT ONE OR MORE OF THESE ALTERNATIVES AT THE PREPARATORY MEEING?

(E) ORGANIZATTION OF POST-BELGRADE MEEINGS  
DISCUSSION

ORGANIZATION OF THE DISCUSSION ON EXPERTS MEETINGS WILL LARGELY BE IDENTICAL TO THAT OF NEW PROPOSALS (2(D)).

SHOULD THE QUESTION OF A FURTHER BELGRADE- TYPE MEETING BE DISCUSSED INITIALLY IN THE COORDIANATING COMMITTTEE, BUT LEFT FOR A FINAL DECISION IN PLENARY?

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PAGE 01 NATO 01238 04 OF 05 072030Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07  
L-03 ACDA-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 4 OF 5 USNATO 1238

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(F) ORGANIZATION OF DRAFTING CONCLUDING DOCUMENT

SHOULD INITIAL DRAFTING BE DONE IN  
COMMITTEES ON INDIVIDUAL BASKETS, WITH  
OVERALL CONTROL BY THE CO-ORDINATING  
COMMITTEE?

(G) OPENING DATA AND DURATION

PARAGRAPHS 43-45 OF POLADS(77)13 SHOW THE  
DEGREE OF AGREEMENT SO FAR.

IN DISCUSSING ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS AT  
THE PREPARATORY MEETING, THE ALLIES MIGHT  
ACT ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT:

(I) IF THE PREPARATORY MEETING ADOPTS A  
METHOD OF ORGANIZATION OF THE REVIEW  
ITEM WHICH COULD ENTAIL A RISK OF  
INSUFFICIENT TIME BEING LEFT FOR  
BASKET III, THE MAIN MEETING SHOULD  
BE ABLE TO CONTINUE UNTIL TERMINATION  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 01238 04 OF 05 072030Z

IS AGREED BY CONSENSUS;

(II) OTHERWISE, A TARGET DATE IS DESIRABLE;

(III) THE BALANCE OF ADVANTAGE BETWEEN  
MAKING THE TARGET DATE SUBJECT TO  
CONSENSUS PROLONGATION OR CONSENSUS  
TERMINATION SHOULD BE DECIDED IN THE

LIGHT OF VIEWS OF OTHER PARTICIPANTS,  
BEARING IN MIND THE POSSIBILITY OF USING  
THE DURATION AS A BARGAINING COUNTER.

(H) LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION

THERE SEEMS LITTLE TO ADD TO PARAGRAPH 12 OF  
THE ANNEX TO C-M(76)76(FINAL).

(I) PUBLIC SESSIONS AND PUBLIC INFORMATION POLICY

THERE SEEMS LITTLE TO ADD TO PARAGRAPHS 29 AND  
30 OF C-M(76)76(FINAL) AND PARAGRAPH 49 OF  
POLADS(77)13.

2. CONCLUDING DOCUMENT

STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS

IN DISCUSSING ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS AT THE PREPARATORY  
MEETING, THE ALLIES MIGHT NOT ON THE FOLLOWING ASSUMPTIONS:

(I) THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT SHOULD CLEARLY BE OF A  
LESSER STATUS THAN THE FINAL ACT (POSSIBLY A  
COMMUNIQUE);

(II) IT SHOULD GIVE AS REASONABLE A PICTURE AS  
POSSIBLE OF THE PROCEEDINGS, ESPECIALLY THE  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 01238 04 OF 05 072030Z

REVIEW ITEM;

(III) NEW PROPOSALS AND EXPERTS MEETINGS SHOULD NOT BE  
EMPHASIZED AT THE EXPENSE OF THE REVIEW (USE CAN  
BE MADE OF ANNEXES);

(IV) AN ATTEMPT SHOULD BE MADE AT THE MAIN MEETING TO  
NEGOTIATE A SUBSTANTIVE ACCOUNT OF THE REVIEW  
DISCUSSIONS;

(V) THE TEXTS OF OPENING AND POSSIBLY CLOSING PLENARY  
STATEMENTS SHOULD BE ATTACHED TO AS ANNEXES. THE  
POLITICAL COMMITTEE MAY WISH TO CONSIDER TO WHAT  
EXTENT THE ALLIES SHOULD SEEK AGREEMENT ON THE  
DOCUMENT'S STRUCTURE AT THE PREPARATORY MEETING.

4. PREPARATORY MEETING

TASK, ORGANIZATION

THERE SEEMS LITTLE TO ADD TO PARAGRAPHS 39-41 OF  
POLADS(77)13 WHICH, INTER ALIA, NOTED WIDESPREAD AGREEMENT WITH



THE US PAPER OF 18TH JANUARY 1977.

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PAGE 01 NATO 01238 05 OF 05 072034Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 5 OF 5 USNATO 1238

FOR EUR/RPM

#### 5. NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES

SHOULD WESTERN COUNTRIES TAKE AN INITIATIVE AT  
THE PREPARATORY MEETING TO ENABLE THE NON-PARTICIPATING  
MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES TO CONTRIBUTE AT THE MAIN MEETING  
TN THE SAME BASIS AS AT GENEVA? IN GREATER DETAIL:

- (I) SHOULD THEY BE ABLE TO MAKE ORAL AND  
WRITTEN CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DISCUSSION OF  
THE REVIEW OF ALL BASKES AND TO THE  
DISCUSSION OF NEW PROPOSALS ON BASKETS I  
AND II (AND BASKET III ALSO?);  
(II) SHOULD THERE BE A SEPARATE MEDITERRANEAN  
COMMITTEE?  
(III) SHOULD THEY BE ABLE TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE  
OEPNING AND CLOSING PLENARY STATEMENTS?

6. IF THERE IS TIME, THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE MAY  
WISH TO CARRY FURTHER THE DISCUSSION ON INDIVIDUAL NEW  
PROPOSALS (PARAGRAPHS 23-36 OF POLADS (77)13; GERMAN PAPER  
ON THE SCIENTIFIC FORUM OF 7TH FEBRUARY, 1977; US PAPERS  
ON "BOOK AND RECORD SHOPS", "EXCHANGE OF LIVE TV  
BORADCASTS", "RIGHTS OF APPLICANTS FOR FAMILY RE-UNIFICATION  
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PAGE 02 NATO 01238 05 OF 05 072034Z

AND MARRIAGE" AND "ELIMINATION OF CURRENCY CONVERSION  
REQUIREMENTS" OF 22ND FEBRUARY, 1977.

#### II. REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION

1. BASKET I - DECLARATION ON PRINCIPLES.
2. BASKET III - CO-OPERATION IN THE HUMANITARIAN  
AND OTHER FIELDS.

THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE MAY WISH TO DISCUSS NEW  
DEVELOPMENTS SINCE THE MINISTERIAL COUNCIL IN DECEMBER,  
1976, ESPECIALLY AS REGARDS HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION.  
END TEXT. STRAUZ-HUPE

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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